DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 353 777 FL 020 193

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TITLE All Children in the Nordic Countries Should Be Bilingual--Why Aren't They?
PUB DATE Nov 83
NOTE 28p.; In Cultilingualism--Papers in Culture and Communicative (In)competence. ROLIG-papir 28; see FL 020 191.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; *Bilingualism; Children; Educational Planning; Elementary Education; Foreign Countries; *Immersion Programs; *Language Role; Monolingualism; Program Design; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Second Language Programs; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Scandinavia

ABSTRACT

Little data are available concerning the native languages of Scandinavian residents, other than the official languages, despite the linguistic diversity of the region. Foreign language teaching starts early in schooling, but there has been little study of actual language needs. Three basic program designs are available for teaching foreign languages, including: immersion, mixed classes of native and non-native majority-language speakers; and sheltered, maintenance, or native language medium instruction. Seven program design variations can be classified according to both language medium and social goals. Conditions affecting second language learning can also be classified according to both language medium and social goals. Conditions affecting second language learning can also be classified as affective (anxiety, motivation, self-confidence), cognitive/linguistic/social second-language-related (input adapted to student's level, input from peers outside school), and cognitive/linguistic/social native-language-related (adequate linguistic development in the native language, adequate background knowledge, and help from a bilingual teacher). Research on second language learning and teaching does not yet guide educational planning in Scandinavia, probably because of unacknowledged racism and conflict avoidance. (MSE)

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ALL CHILDREN IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES SHOULD BE BILINGUAL - WHY AREN'T THEY?

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

Introduction

Scandinavia has often been considered as culturally and linguistically very homogeneous. This is of course not true and has never been true. Besides the official languages of the 5 nation-states (languages which have also been spoken in the neighbouring countries, like Swedish in Finland, and Finnish and Danish in Sweden), Inuit, Faroese, Same, German and (from very early on also) Romanes are native languages of the area. Some of the original minority groups have had a later or steady influx of new speakers, continuing up to our time - this is mostly true of Finnish-speakers in Sweden.

Figures for speakers of languages other than the official ones are virtually unobtainable. For instance, it is possible to get figures for Inuit speakers in Greenland, but there are no reliable figures for Inuit speakers or Faroese speakers in Denmark, because the semi-colonial status of Inuits and Faroese speakers makes them invisible in Danish statistics. Census questions in all Scandinavian countries (including officially bilingual Finland) are careful not to collect information about the mother tongues of their residents (if these are not official languages) or about their degree of bilingualism, figures which would make the minorities more visible. This state of affairs seems to be typical of internal colonialism.

In all Nordic countries the teaching of foreign or second languages in schools starts early, as compared with other industrialised countries. Most children have an opportunity to learn more than one language in addition to the language of instruction. There are few studies about the need for different languages in Scandinavia. It

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seems that people think it is more or less self-evident that we need many languages and precisely those languages which are taught now. Every now and then comes a cry from business people saying that there are too few people who know German, Spanish, Russian etc. well, and sometimes educational authorities make token gestures saying that efforts should be made to ensure that languages other than English should get a chance too. But nobody asks what languages ordinary people would need to know to have a richer life, to put it in a populistic way. Maybe it would be better for majority people in northern Finland, Norway and Sweden to know Same rather than German? Maybe many Swedish people in Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö should know Finnish or Serbocroat rather than French. Maybe it would be more important for people to know the language of their next-door neighbours than to be able to understand a tiny part of the conversation in Dallas where they have the subtitles in a Scandinavian language anyway on the TV-screen?

The question, then, arises as to whether school can achieve such goals. Is it possible for all the people in Scandinavia to learn some of the important languages used in Scandinavia by both native Scandinavian people and by immigrants, and still learn languages which are important for outside export and cultural exchange?

Of course. Partly we know that it is fully possible to become bilingual with the help of the school, so that one knows two or even more languages really well. This is possible both for children from linguistic majorities and for children from linguistic minorities, even if they need different methods. Partly we also know that learning another language means both learning a technique for how to learn languages, and learning the actual language. Once one has learned one language well, in addition to one's mother tongue, the next language is much easier. The step from bilingual to trilingual is considerably smaller than the step from monolingual to bilingual.

We also know that minorities and majorities, because their starting points are different, need different educational programs in order for children to become bilingual. I will start with mentioning three types of programme, to see what could be used if we want all Nordic children to become bilingual.

Three programmes

An immersion programme is a programme where majority children with a high status mother tongue voluntarily choose to be instructed through the medium of a second or foreign (minority) language, in classes with majority children only, where the language of instruction is foreign to all of them, where the teacher is bilingual so that the children can communicate their needs to the teacher and each other initially in their own language, and where their own mother tongue is in no danger of not developing or of being replaced by the language of instruction - an additive language learning situation. Immersion programmes in Canada are the most thoroughly researched language teaching programmes in the world (see Swain and Lapkin 1982).

We know that children in immersion programmes learn content as well as children who are taught through the medium of their L1. We know that this happens at no cost to their L1 proficiency, and that their tests of L1 proficiency often show better results than those for monolingual L1 speakers. In addition they learn another language much better than in traditional foreign language programmes, often to a near-native level. We also know that becoming bilingual is good for children; there is massive evidence for this, of a cognitive, academic, cultural and social-political kind. We know that it is perfectly possible to make majority children bilingual through education. Given this, all schools in the Nordic countries should promote immersion programmes.

A submersion programme is a programme where minority children with a low status mother tongue are forced to

accept instruction through the medium of the foreign or second majority language (with high status), in classes where some children are native speakers of the language of instruction and where the teacher doesn't understand the mother tongue of the minority children, and where the majority language constitutes a threat to their mother tongue - a subtractive language learning situation. These programmes are often called sink-or-swim-programmes. The results in these programmes are often poor, both linguistically and academically. The children mostly learn to speak L2 fluently with a native accent about everyday concrete matters in face-to-face interaction in cognitively less demanding situations where contextual cues can be used to infer meaning (Cummins 1981). But many of them start failing in the higher grades, when more cognitive/academic language proficiency is called upon, the capacity to use language as the sole means for solving cognitively more demanding decontextualised problems (Skutnabb-Kangas 1982). More teaching in and through the medium of L2 does not seem to help much either, as for instance Aaron Cicourel has described (1982). And the children's L1 does not develop in these programmes because it is not the medium of instruction, and does not get the powerful social support outside school which a majority-L1 gets. Often it is not even taught as a subject, but even if it is, a few hours per week is of course not enough. This type of programme is responsible for most of the poor results of many minority children in schools all over the world. Given this, there should be no submersion programmes in the Nordic countries.

A language shelter programme, a maintenance programme or a mother tongue medium programme, is a programme where minority children, often with a low status mother tongue, get (most of) their instruction through the medium of their own L1 through the first several years, sometimes throughout the school, and where they learn the majority language as a second language. In these programmes the children learn their L2 as well as or better than in submersion

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programmes. In addition they learn their mother tongue, i.e. they become bilingual. And understanding what they are taught obviously also improves their school achievement. There are numerous evaluations of these programmes. All evaluations, where all the necessary distinctions have been made (so that for instance majority and minority children have not been mixed, or so that transitional programmes have not been taken for maintenance programmes, etc.), show that they function well. In a recent very comprehensive literature review of different programmes, made for the Ministry of Education in Ontario, Canada, Jim Cummins concludes (1983, 76) that well implemented bilingual programmes would have no adverse effects on the development of L2 academic skills, quite the contrary, there is evidence for the opposite, enrichment of L2 academic skills. "From the point of view of student achievement in L2, there appear to be few constraints in terms of the amount of instructional time devoted to [L1] (50% - 80% appears reasonable ...) nor in terms of the duration of the program (e.g. grades K-12)", says Cummins. Given this, all minority children in the Nordic countries should have mother tongue medium programmes. Besides, all the minority organisations in all the Nordic countries want to have mother tongue medium programmes, which in a Scandinavian democracy should be enough to promote them for all the minorities.

Typology of monolingual or bilingual education

In order to substantiate these claims and to illustrate some of the sociological and psycholinguistic differences between situations where children try to become bilingual, I will present a short summary of two of the typologies I have used (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) to try to understand differential outcomes. In my first typology I look at the relationship between method and aim.

When one looks at different programmes and notices that some programmes teach children through the medium of L1, some through the medium of L2, and some programmes succeed

in making the children bilingual (at least to a very large extent and to a high level) while others don't, quite regardles of whether the children have been taught through the medium of one language or two, and through the medium of L1 or L2, a confusion is unavoidable, unless one tries to single out a few factors and understand some of the principles.

In my typology I distinguish between language of instruction (monolingual or bilingual) and the aim of the programme, first from a linguistic point of view (where I treat monolingualism/bilingualism first as an independent variable, i.e. I see, for instance monolingual education in the minority language for majority members as causing bilingualism). Then I proceed by trying to see what societal goals the linguistic aims serve, and here the societal goals become the independent variable, decisive for which language(s) is chosen as the medium of instruction (mediating variable) to produce monolingualism or bilingualism (dependent variable), which in its turn is decisive for whether or not the societal goals can be achieved. I also distinguish between the majority language and the minority language in discussing both the medium of instruction and the linguistic aim (and I define minority in terms of power relationships not numbers). Under "child" I indicate from whose perspective the programme is classified. The linguistic makup of the class is indicated under "type of class", where classes where all the children have the same mother tongue are classified as "same"", regardless of whether this same L1 is the majority or the minority language.

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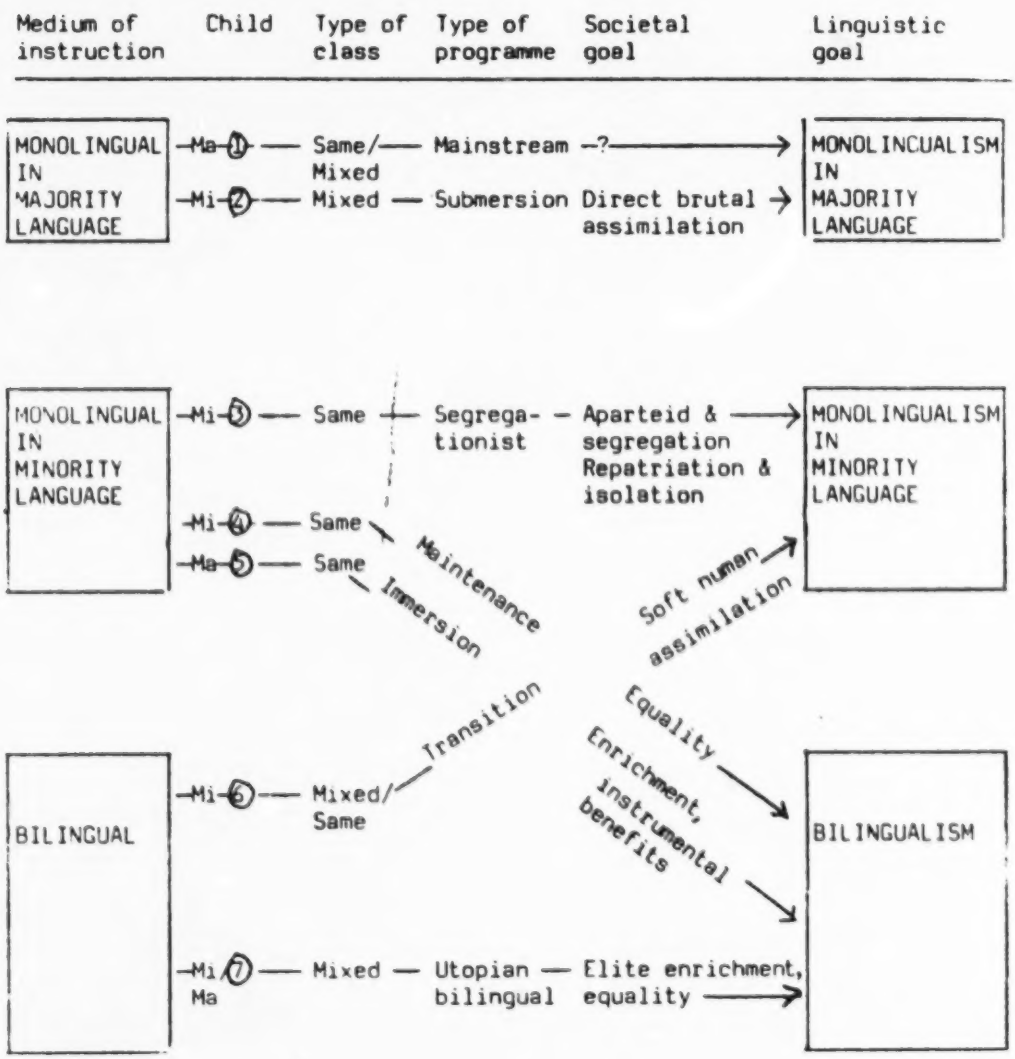
Table 1


Medium of instruction
Child
Type of class
Type of programme
Societal goal
Linguistic goal
MONOLINGUAL IN MAJORITY LANGUAGE
Ma 1
Same/ Mixed
Mainstream
-?
MONOLINGUALISM IN MAJORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 2
Mixed
Submersion
Direct brutal assimilation
MONOLINGUAL IN MINORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 3
Same
Segrega- tionist
Aparteid & segregation Repatriation & isolation
MONOLINGUALISM IN MINORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 4
Same
Maintenance
Ma 5
Same
Immersion
Soft human assimilation
Transition
Equality
Enrichment, instrumental benefits
BILINGUAL
Mi 6
Mixed/ Same
BILINGUALISM
Mi/ Ma 7
Mixed
Utopian bilingual
Elite enrichment, equality

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE THE GOAL OF WHICH IS MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE FOR MAJORITY CHILDREN, type 1, is the most common way of educating majority children in most countries with a large so called international language as the majority language. It is likewise used in many smaller countries which are or pretend to be linguistically homogeneous.

When the goal is MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 2, a submersion programme is used. It is often i situation with a very strong assimilationist goal on the societal-political level culturally, but not structurally. Often structural incorporation of the minority is not allowed on an equal footing with the majority members, i.e. the minority members do not have equal rights in the educational, social and political fields and on the labour market (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976 for an elaboration) (but often they do have the same duties, for instance as far as paying taxes is concerned (see Ekberg 1980, 1983). One of the more implicit goals in this type of programme is also that those minority children who succeed in the programmes at the same time are socialized into accepting those values which are connected with that part of the majority society which controls the schools. In that way those minority children who succeed are pacified: they are alienated from their own group, and they don't feel solidarity with those minority children who do not succeed (see e.g. Hernández-Chávez 1978). It is the "we-made-it-and-they-can-do-it-too-if-they-work-hard-enough" syndrome. Those minority children, on the other hand, who don't succeed, are pacified by shame: they are made to feel that it is their own fault that they don't succeed - the "blame-the-victim" technique. This is the most common model still for most minority children in the world, assimilating the children at the same time as it prevents them from getting a good education. These programmes educate future assembly line workers and future unemployed, future losers. It is the type

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of education which Nils Erik Hansegård (1972, 119) calls "language-shift education" or "cultural genocide".

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A MINORITY LANGUAGE can be of three different kinds. If the goal is MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 3, a segregation or apartheid programme is used, for instance the education for different African groups in different "home lands", Bantustans, in South Africa, or typically for Turkish but also for other guest worker children expecially in Bavaria but also in other parts of West Germany (but see Tsiakalos, forthcoming). In this type of programme the implicit societal goal may be described as twofold, depending on the minority. With indigenous groups like the ones in South Africa, reproduction of apartheid and isolation from other subordinated groups seems to be the goal. The physical segregation here helps the linguistic one and therefore the linguistic one doesn't need to be as strict as it might otherwise. Besides, the Africans are needed in their capacity as workers also in jobs which require communication with the dominant group, so they cannot be "kept" completely monolingual in their own languages, but the education sees to it that they don't learn enough of the power language to be able to influence the society even linguistically, or, especially, to acquire a common language with other subordinated groups, a shared medium of communication and analysis, a prerequisite for solidarity and common action. The linguistic segregation is a central part of the Bantustan policy, both in South Africa and in Namibia, and that puts, for instance, SWAPO in a difficult situation where political unity (exemplified already in the early fights against the contract labour system) on one hand and educational considerations on the other hand might demand different solutions for language choice for independent Namibia (UNIN 1981, SWAPO 1982, Angula 1982).

In the case of guest worker minorites where one of the societal goals in education is to keep the children uninte-

grated, ready to be sent home whenever their parents' labour is not needed anymore or they themselves become too expensive, this type of education prepares the children for repatriation at the same time as it prevents them from getting their share of the goods and services of the mainstream majority society if they (are allowed to) stay. Segretation is here a combination of physical (housing, guest worker schools and classes) and psychological segregation (discrimination, racism).

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 4, is a language shelter, maintenance or mother tongue medium programme. Good examples are the Swedish-medium schools for the Swedish-speaking indigenous minority in Finland, the mother tongue medium classes for immigrant children in Sweden, or the Francophone schools in English Canada. These programmes have arisen as a protest against suppression of minorities, and often their existence shows that the minority community has started a dynamic struggle to get their share of the goods and services of the mainstream society. Often these programmes also reflect a revitalization situation, like for instance Ukrainians in Canada. Sometimes they also reflect a situation where the minority had more power earlier when the programmes came into existence, but even in these situations (like the one for the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, a former power-majority) the programmes now seem to fulfil the same purpose for the children as "regular" maintenance programmes.

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM FOR MAJORITY CHILDREN, type 5, is the Canadian speciality, immersion programmes in their earlier grades, before the instruction through the medium of the L1 of the children has started. These types of programmes are likely to arise in situations where a linguistic majority needs to become bilingual for instrumental (not integrative) reasons, in order not to lose old privileges or in order to get new benefits or privileges, guaranteed for bilinguals. This

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is a situation where a minority has become strong enough to get through demands for bilingualism and benefits for bilinguals, thus forcing a new group, namely majority members, to want to become bilingual.

The last two models, types 4 and 5, monolingual education with bilingualism as the goal, seem to lead to very good results for both minority and majority children. The monolingual instruction in these programmes is always conducted in that language which the children otherwise would be less likely to learn to an advanced level, expecially in its more formal aspects, in the society outside school. And that it for both majority and minority children the minority language, i.e. for the majority children it is a foreign (or second) language, but for the minority children their mother tongue.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS MONOLINGUALISM FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 6, may sound a bit harsh, because a complete monolingualism is not the goal here, either. But characteristic of this type of programme is that the goal is assimilation, too. It is said, often even officially, that the children need not be taught bilingually (or even have instruction in their mother tongue as a subject in many cases) any more, when they have learnt enough of the majority language to be able to follow instruction through the medium of the majority language. All the transitional bilingual programmes belong to this type.

The last type, 7, is BILINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM. It is a type of education where great concern is placed on trying to reach high levels of competence in both languages, and where a realistic evaluation is made of how much support each language needs. If there are both majority and minority children in bilingual programmes, mutuality is absolutely essential. BOTH GROUPS SHOULD LEARN BOTH LANGUAGES. More time should be spent with the minority language. If the minority children are the only ones to

become bilingual, and the majority children learn but a few songs and phrases of the minority language, then it is closer to the situation described earlier as bilingual education leading to monolingualism, even if it may be good for the attitudes of majority children.

The types presented could also be seen as forming a progression, where types 2, 3 and 6 (and 1) do not respond to the needs of individual children and do not give them the advantages that high levels of bilingualism can lead to - quite the opposite, they can be disastrous at least for individual minority children. They do, however, respond to the needs of some sections of society, the ones profiting on lack of equality in the world - otherwise they wouldn't continue. Programmes 4, 5 and 7 give all children good chances. And of course, in an ideal society of equality, peace and mutual understanding, all children should be educated at least bilingually.

Typology of conditions for second language learning

The second typology which is presented here only in summary has to do with some of the important factors which influence second language learning. The table compares some of the programmes just discussed in how well they succeed in organising circumstances conducive to the best possible L2-learning for the child. The starting point in the discussions is that the most important process in both learning and acquiring L2 is, that the school gives the child the necessary prerequisites for converting input (what the learner gets when she is exposed to L2, orally or in writing) to intake, i.e. something that is processed and retained. Especially when it is a second language situation where the child has a chance of getting a lot of input outside school anyway, these prerequisites seem to be decisive for how much learning occurs.

I have grouped the prerequisites in three groups: affective factors, cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors, and cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors.

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Table 2

Requirement	Programme: Immersion	Submersion	Segregation	Maintenance
1. Affective factors				
a. Low levels of anxiety	yes	no	no	yes
b. High internal motivation	yes	no	no	yes
c. High levels of self-confidence	yes	no	no	yes
2. Cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors				
a. Input adapted to student's level	yes	no	yes?	yes
b. Input from equal peers outside shool	no	no	no	yes?
3. Cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors				
a. Adequate cognitive development in L1	yes	no?	yes?	yes
b. Adequate linguistic development in L1	yes	no	can be	yes?
c. Enough knowledge of the world (=subject matter) given	yes	no	can be	yes
d. Help from a bilingual teacher	yes	no?	can be	yes

1. Requirements for making the affective filter low - affective factors:

a. low levels of anxiety, springing from a feeling that the child is being given credit for her real performance and judged in a fair way, where her imperfect command of L2 is not interpreted as a deficit but where interlanguage is seen as natural for a learner

b. high internal motivation, reflecting an acceptance of the child, her language and culture. A possibility to react and be understood both non-verbally and through the medium of L1, and to get help from bilingual teachers when the child's attempts to understand or produce something in L2 fail. A possibility to choose when the child wants to start using L2,

instead of being forced to use it (which would be an external motivation.
c. high levels of self-confidence, based on acceptance, a feeling of having a fair chance to succeed, and repeated experience of success, in communicating and otherwise

2. Requirements for getting comprehensible input in L2 - cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors:

a. input in school which is adapted to the linguistic level of a learner of L2 (together with other learners, not native speakers of L2), especially in the beginning of L2-studies when the child does not get much out of outside-school-input
b. input outside school from understanding, equal peers, with a possibility of gaining high status and being accepted on equal footing

3. Requirements for developing instruments to analyse the input and make it intake - cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors:

a. adequate cognitive development in the mother tongue, in order to give the child good possibilities to infer, to use contextual cues, to analyse etc. and in order to help the development of the common underlying basis for all language development, L1 and L2, means to analyse the input
b. adequate linguistic development in the mother tonge, in order for the child to be familiar with ways of realising cognitive categories linguistically at least in one language (including familiarity with more complex standard language, and good reading and writing skills)
c. enogh background knowledge, knowledge of the world (Krashen 1981), given through the medium of the child's L1, so that the child is familiar with the topics discussed in L2 in order to understand more and get more comprehensible input
d. help from a bilingual teacher, who can explain, give examples, compare, and give rules when the child asks for it, after first having defined something as a problem.

When we compare the different programmes in table 2 in order to see what possibilities they give for second language learning, the same picture emerges which already the earlier typology gave: submersion and segregation programmes give poor possibilities, while immersion and maintenance programmes seem to give a fair chance to succeed.

Through these comparisons it should be clear that
- it is not axiomatic that L1 is always the best medium for instruction, if the goal is bilingualism
- monolingual programmes can often reach the goal of bilingualism better than bilingual programmes, at least when they are monolingual initially
- the basic principle in all education which has bilingualism as its goal should be:
  GIVE ALL POSSIBLE INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT TO THE LANGUAGE WHICH OTHERWISE IS LESS LIKELY TO DEVELOP IN A FORMAL/ACADEMIC REGISTER

When one tries to summarise the implications for the Nordic countries of accepting the rationale which the typologies and the existing empirical evidence lead to, it should read something like this:

If research results were to guide educational planning, then the Nordic school systems would defer the majority languages (Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic) as media of instruction during the first 6 years of schooling in respectively Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Every child in these countries would be educated through the medium of a minority language, which for majority children would be a foreign or second language, but for minority children their mother tongue.

Do research results guide educational planning?

What is the situation, then? To what extent has the rationale been implemented?

To start with immersion programmes: there is not one single immersion programme in Scandinavia. And no plans to start any, either. One example is enough: at an international conference in Stockholm in 1982, organised to see what Swedes could learn from international experience, after Wallace Lambert's paper some participants suggested starting immersion programmes in Finnish for Swedish children. A representative of the Swedish National Board of Education said that the Board follows the results of the emergency programmes - a symptomatic slip? - very closely, and is interested, but he didn't think it was possible to find 30 Swedish-speaking parents in Sweden who would like to put their children in classes where they would be taught through the medium of Finnish. Now it is of course impossible to tell whether this is true or not, but the attitude itself - in a country with over 8 million people you wouldn't find 30 non-Finns who would like their children to learn Finnish in this way - is amazing. Finland is the country which Sweden has most co-operation with of all the countries in the world, almost regardless of how you define cooperation. There are at least some 300.000 speakers of Finnish in Sweden, the largest minority in Sweden. Knowledge of Finnish is already valued on the labour market in Sweden and its importance is growing. If a similar suggestion was made for the Same language in Sweden or Norway, or about Inuit in Denmark - would you be able to find 30 Swedish-, Norwegian- or Danish-speaking parents who would like to have their children educated through the medium of Same or Inuit - the central educational authorities might respond in the same way - no. By contrast, if you asked the central educational authorities if there would be 30 parents who would like to have their children educated through the medium of English or French, I'm pretty sure that the authorities would say: no difficulties, we can easily find them.

Submersion is the main model of instruction for all other minorities in Scandinavia except Swedish-speakers in Fin-

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land, Faroese-speakers in the Faroe-islands and German-speakers in Southern Denmark. Inuits in Greenland are starting to get more and more Inuit-medium education, as Denmark is forced to withdraw from Greenland in the slow decolonisation process. But all other minorities, both indigenous and immigrant, have to fight for mother tongue medium education, constantly fiercely opposed by the majorities. The group which has come furthest is the Finnish immigrant group in Sweden, but even among them less than 20% of the children in comprehensive schools get their instruction through the medium of Finnish in maintenance programmes. In the autumn 1981 10.6% of all pupils with another "home language" than Swedish in the comprehensive schools in Sweden were in mother tongue medium classes - there were 600 such classes in a dozen of different languages. In addition there were 284 transitional compound classes (with both Swedish children and children for one immigrant language group, where the immigrant children got a part of their instructional through their L1) (SCB 1982:17). The mother tongue is used during the first two years as a bridge to the majority language for some Same children, especially in Norway, but otherwise the picture is almost blank - there are almost no maintenance programmes in Norway, Denmark and Finland (and Iceland has not minorities to speak of).

Why is it, then, that research results do not guide educational planning? In many other aspects of child care, research results are adhered to pretty closely in all Nordic countries - why not here?

Racism in Scandinavia?

It seems to me that the fact that these rationales are not implemented, could be partly a result of racist attitudes, which are not openly discussed in Scandinavia. My embryonic analysis is still very much in a hypothesis-building stage, but I would like to demonstrate my thesis by considering the relationship between Sweden and Finland, Swedish and Finnish. The attitudes of Swedes towards Finns as

the largest minority group in Sweden are also reflected in Sweden's attitudes towards all the other minority groups, and Sweden's position as the biggest country in Scandinavia and the economically strongest one also makes Swedish attitudes an influential factor in determining the attidudes of the other Nordic countries.

When Scandinavians discuss racism, the two main connotations are, first that race equals colour, i.e. racism is someting to do with the relationship between black and white, and secondly, it is something that exists elsewhere.

If one tries to imply that there is racism in Scandinavia, many people, even researchers, say something like "isn't it to water down the concept - you can talk about discrimination, maybe, or prejudices, or that we are not used to foreigners and other languages and cultures, but racism'. That is too strong! Think of South Africa, and then you'll see that we don't have any racism. Besides, we have so few black people here." When analysing the relationship between say Afro-Caribbeans or Indians and the British, the colonial relationship between Britain and India and the Caribbean cannot be left out. It is one of the most important reasons for why people from those areas are now in Britain, and for why the attitudes of the British towards them (and vice versa) are the way they are. The economic reasons for migration, the arrogance, contempt and in some cases guilt of colonial countries, and the anger, bitterness and sometimes colonized consciousness of the formerly colonized can be understood only in a historical context. Even Scandinavian researchers easily see that when discussing Britain. But it has been unusual or non-existent to discuss minorities, especially immigrant but also to a certain extent indigenous minorities in Scandinavia, in terms of the same concepts which we use when discussing other colonial situations. Scandinavians often see themselves as THE part of the world which had no colonies, didn't really participate in the

oppression and colonization and enslaving of other people, and who still are the nice corner in the world, with no imperial past, present or future. It is easy for us to moralize about other countries (for instance the role of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany in actively supporting apartheid in South Africa or preventing Namibia from getting her independence), while thinking that we don't do and have never done anything like that. I haven't seen any analyses where Scandinavians relate present and past Third World exploitation by Scandinavians to Sweden's former colonial relationship to Finland, and see this as partly explaining why Finns (from the former Swedish colony) are now in Sweden as labour immigrants, and partly explaining the attitudes of Swedes towards the Finnish language and Finns, or Finnish attitudes towards Swedish and the Swedes. Sweden in several different ways profits and has always profited from colonialism, both its own and that of others. But the parallells between our own Scandinavian colonialism and that of others are not fully drawn.

I see the negative Swedish reactions towards both Swedes learning Finnish in immersion programmes, and Finns being allowed to use our own language in Sweden as a natural medium of instruction in maintenance programmes as results of a specifically Swedish type of racism, which is difficult to detect, analyse and fight, because of Sweden's active forgetting, almost denial, of its colonial past vis-a-vis Finland. As a result the relationship between dominant and dominated is obscured, and a conflict avoidance strategy, which is culturally typical of Sweden, is developed. And this strategy is one of the strategies used to affirm racism. I will finish by giving two short examples, one of the reproduction of the denial of the colonial relationship, and one of the conflict avoidance strategy used to rationalize the relationship in order to avoid discussing it in terms of a former colonial relationship.

Denial of the former colonial relationship

1155 First Swedish crusade to Finland. Finland becomes "part of the Kingdom of Sweden", i.e. colonized
1809 Sweden surrenders Finland to Russia. Czar makes Finland an autonomous Grand Duchy
1917 Finnish declaration of independence. First recognized by Russia, France, Germany and Sweden
1919 Present Constitution adopted. Finland becomes a republic

When we were taught history in school, both in Finland and in Sweden, the relationship between Finland and Sweden was never described in the textbooks, or discussed, in terms of a colonial relationship. We learned that Finland was part of Sweden, with the same rights as all the other parts. The official representatives of the Finnish and Swedish hosts of this Conference have also used the same expression, part of Sweden. But there are all the hallmarks of a colonial situation: Sweden imposed its administration, laws and religion on us. Both Finnish money, i.e. taxes, and Finnish soldiers served the interests of Sweden (and also the interest of Denmark during the union era). Finland was"given" to different people according to the interests of Sweden, Danmark, the Hanseatic League and Russia, without ever asking us Finns. And Sweden imposed its own language on Finland, and denied the native languages, Finnish and Same, all rights in administration and education. Most of us Finland Swedes have ancestors who came from Sweden. Cultural racism is affirmed just in this way, in how history books present a colonial relationship. According to the World Council of Churches (from Hicks 1980, 35), racism is affirmed in three ways: "first, by means of self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself; second, by degradation of the dominated group, and the suppression and stagnation of its culture, institutions, lifestyles and ideas; the third, by systematic rationalization of the relationships between both groups, always favourable to the dominant group". And presenting

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Finland as part of Sweden is just such a rationalization. Another example of it: it is said that there was no opposition in Finland against being part of Sweden, because there were no nationalistic sentiments. In fact Finns didn't experience themselves as Finns, as forming a nation apart from Sweden, at that time, this coming only later, in the nineteenth century - or so we are told. It is a typical example of rationalization, because criteria used to define a national identity are the criteria of much later times, not the criteria which might have been used 800 years ago and which might have yielded a picture more closely resembling the type of resistance we now connect with colonial situations. The Finnish peasant uprisings are for instance always analyzed, if at all, in terms of a class struggle, not as a freedom fight against colonial rule.

Conflict avoidance strategy

It seems to be one of the national characteristics of Sweden politically that all decisions should as far as possible be consensus decisions (see the articles in Vad är svensk kultur?,("What is Swedish culture?")1981). It is brutal and uncivilized to hint at conflicts - they are denied. Elaborate strategies are developed to assure conflict avoidance. Here is one example from minority education and how conflicts noticed by outsiders are censored. The National Board of Education in Sweden asked professor Christina Bratt Paulston from Pittsburgh to write a critical review of the Swedish research and debate about bilingualism in immigrant education. She is a Swede who has lived her whole adult life in the U.S., which means that she is not fully socialized into Swedish conflict avoidance. When her report was translated into Swedish, every mention of conflict between Sweden and either Finland or Finns in Sweden was omitted, among them the following words or sentences which were in her original English version and which I have underlined (while what has been ADDED is capitalized):

Table 3

Original English version	Swedish version
The Swedish and Finnish governments seem to be at odds over Swedish policies vis a vis Finnish in Sweden (p. 27)	-
What the Finns are about is not ethnic boundary maintenance but rather extended geographic nationalism (see e.g. Similä, 1980) or in the words of one rector "Finnarna är sjövilda. Dom vill ha lilla Finland (from my fieldnotes, March 1982) ... The rector presumably was reacting to the militance, typical of national movements, of the Finnish organizations (riksförbund), while the assimilating Finns do not organize and go quietly about their business (pp. 45-46)	What the Finns are about is not ethnic boundary maintenance but rather extended geographic nationalism (see e.g. Similä, 1980).
The situation does present a dilemma: the Finns probably best stand to profit by bilingual education at the same time as many Swedes are put off by the aggressivenes and militance of the Finnish demands (p. 46)	The situation does present a dilemma: the Finns probably best stand to profit by bilingual education BUT many Swedes are put off by WHAT THEY INTERPRET AS aggressivenes IN the Finnish demands (p. 42)

Omitting discussion about conflict in a racist situation makes the situation appear as one where the dominant nation, i.e. Sweden, is nice and reasonable and willing to give the minority a lot of benefits, while the aggressive, militant minority is being difficult and accusing the majority for no apparent reason. Legitimate anger and bitterness are neutralized by ignoring them and making them seem unreasonable. It would not look legitimate for Sweden to have the role it tries to play internationally (as the conscience of the world) if Swedes were to remind themselves of their colonial past vis-a-vis Finland and the reflection of it in the present-day attitudes of Swedes towards Finns in Sweden (and through that tradition also towards other minority groups in Sweden). It is also therefore important for Sweden actively to forget its colonial past. Since there is the same type of arrogance, contempt and guilt in Sweden as there is in most colonial countries

toward former colonies and their inhabitants, language and culture, that also has to be denied and transformed, in order not to recall the colonial past. And that has been transformed to nice paternalism, good will and conflict avoidance. And the anger and bitterness of the formerly colonized - expecially those who have been taught for centuries that they were not colonized and who have internalized a colonized consciousness - must then also be denied altogether, or at least labelled in some other way.

But the denied facts and feelings show up in the fierce opposition towards the language and culture of the formerly colonized.

Concluding remarks

The border minorities of German-speakers in Denmark and Danish-speakers in Germany have certain autonomous status and educational and linguistic rights, for German in Denmark and Danish in Germany in those areas where the minorities live. It would be logical for Finns in Sweden and Swedish-speakers in Finland to have the same. Even if many of the Finns in Sweden have come only recently, there has been a continuous Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden for as long as we know, and the fact that they were denied their linguistic rights hundreds of years ago, shouldn't be used as an excuse for denying the Finnish-speakers now living in Sweden those rights too, continuing an old tradition of linguistic oppression.

Just like all school children in Finland learn Swedish at school, in order to be able to communicate both with members of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland and with Swedes (school Swedish doesn't allow them to communicate with Norwegians or Danes), it should be equally natural for all Swedish school children to learn Finnish in school, to be able to communicate both with the members of the Finnish minority in Sweden and Finns in Finland. What, then, can explain the differential attitudes towards the

learning of the neigbouring country's language (i.e. in one country all school children, in the other not even 30 to be found), if not the old colonial relationship and attitudes it has created, attitudes which are now denied.

If my hypothesis is correct, both the assimilationist tendencies and opposition towards mother tongue medium programmes and the lack of immersion programmes should be analyzed not as any kind of a healthy suspicion among majority Scandinavians, expecially here Swedes, towards something they don't know anything about or where some of them believe that researchers don't agree and where they want to be careful for that reason. They should instead be analyzed as power conflicts with a very clear basis in attitudes, informed by historical events which both the colonized but expecially the colonizers have tried to forget and which both feel a bit embarrassed about, but which nevertheless influence both, and cause them at times to behave in an even more irrational and emotional way than otherwise.

Unless both the power conflicts, the colonial past and the racist attitudes are admitted and analyzed, there is no way to come with an adequate analysis, and to try to change the state of affairs. I don't foresee that the Nordic countries would in a near future let their whole educational planning be guided by research results, so that the rationale would be implemented the way I envisaged earlier in this article. But I see no obstacles for changning at least so much, that for instance the Finnish children in Sweden don't need to wait another 450 years before they get their own Finnish-medium schools in Sweden, and so that the first immersion programmes for Swedish children through the medium of Finnish - or Turkish, Greek, Serbocroat, etc. - could start before the third international conference on Minority Languages takes place.

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